hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[20]

[602] The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[29] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders. [888]

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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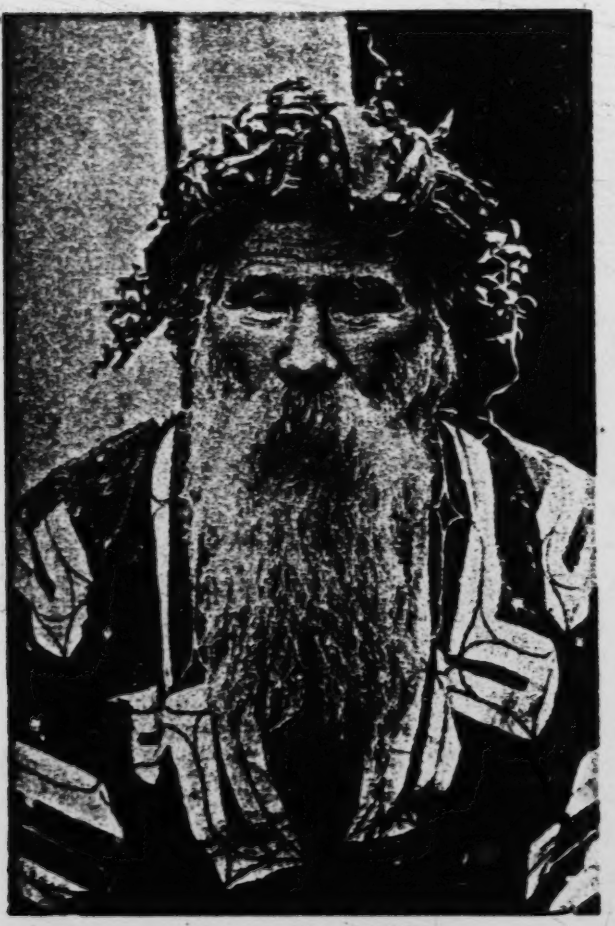

AN OLD AINU FRIEND

[P.6]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER III

THE HAUNTED MAN

Anra, which being interpreted means "Black Lily," is a tall, well built, full-bearded, shaggy-headed, bright-eyed, and remarkably dignified old man. He is a pure Ainu, whose untamed nature leads him to dwell much in the free and easy ages of the past and long for their return. His thoughts are constantly dwelling upon his nature gods and his rough yet kindly, uncivilized departed forebears. He is a lovable old man, full of quaint ideas.

Though seventy years of age when I first came to be at all intimately acquainted with him, now more than a decade ago, he still walks with a quick, firm step and carries himself as straight as an arrow. When not in drink, which, I am sorry to say is only when he can get no *saké*, and especially when he thinks he is quite unobserved, he wears a depressed, far-away, anxious look on his face. However, when he is kindly spoken to, his fine brown eyes sparkle and twinkle with animation and delight, and his wrinkled brows smooth themselves out with pleasure. He then looks as though he feared neither gods nor men.

Like his parents and grand-parents before him, Anra has his home on the top of a high hill overlooking the sea, so that what with the rushing river below him, the whistling of the winds among the trees above him, and the roaring of the mighty ocean beyond him, the noise about his dwelling is at times loud and weird beyond description.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 288 Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

787 Once when I was in this man's district, he came to
888 see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look
158 on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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AN AINU CHIEF

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

● 888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she 304
was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I 888
was seeking information about tattooing. So I said [115]
to her.

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *ascht-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order [757] to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom.

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers 304
to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them [177]
up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. The women were very proud of their fancy needlework, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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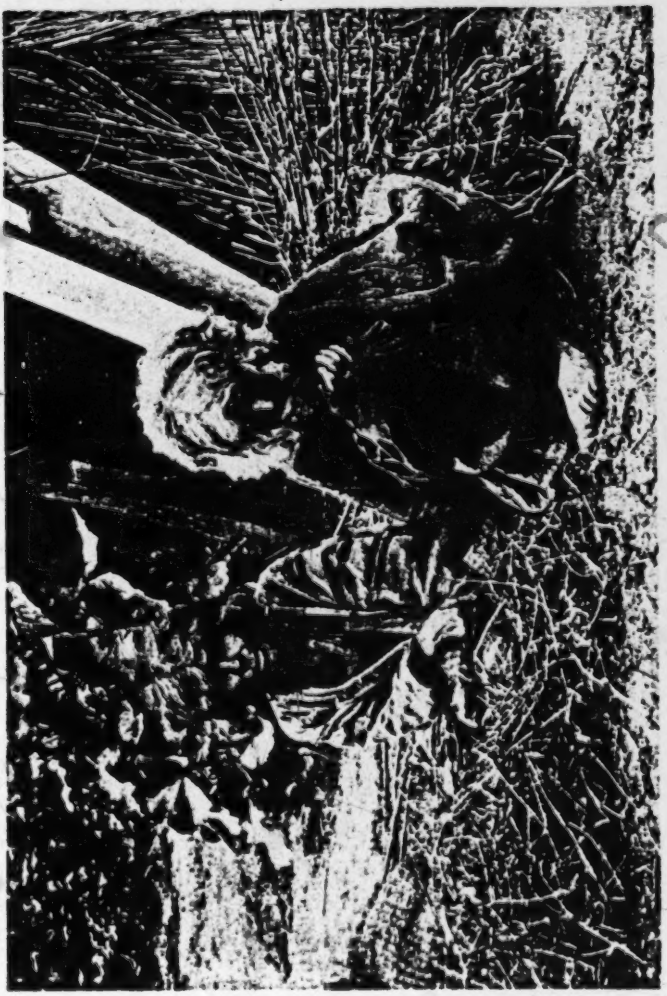

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783] all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888 ●
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 761 [768] as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning was to send the place to heaven for her convenience! This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] 761 The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their animistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady [768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest 121
of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man 301
who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have 301
pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I 888 ●
am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In 301
no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 301 778 824 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," I turned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [888] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

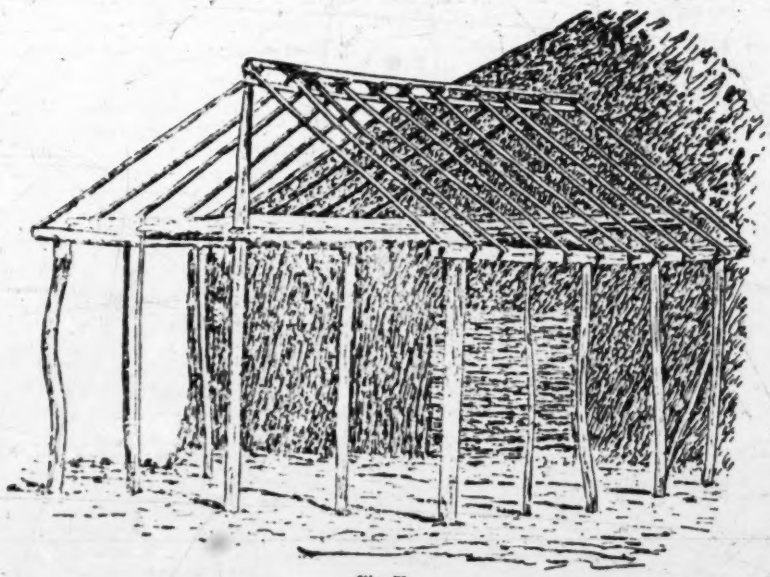

Fig. 71.

FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINO HOUSE.

(From a photograph.)

The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and reserved, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we